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On the Marine Road: Anglo-Japanese Encounters and Exchanges in Modern Maritime Culture

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Introduction: The Rise and Rule of Britannia's Maritime Culture

It is no exaggeration to say that Britain has created the prototype for a maritime culture. Stories about embarking across the seas for opportunities not found on land and the growth and success that could be achieved through these voyages have been repeatedly written and read about in Britain.¹ This archetype began with a privateer licensed by Queen Elizabeth in the 16th century who justified an attack on a Spanish ship full of looted gold in opposition to the Black Legend of Spain, which conquered South America. British historical romance, then, began to idealize such pirates as if they were pioneers. Later, both merchant ships and warships became icons, representing Britannia as a free and democratic multicultural community.

The maritime culture of Britannia "ruling the wave" has flourished globally since the late 20th century, even after Britain lost its global hegemony and, perhaps, its obsessive interest in the sea. Ships following the British tradition are widely portrayed as ideal class societies, whereas open organizations harmonizing freedom and discipline are also often modeled after ships. One example text is Robert Louis Stevenson's *Treasure Island* (1883), which became the classic example of the *bildungsroman* wherein the sea and the ship bring the treasure of growth to boys. Inspired by other examples of British maritime literature, the French author Jules

¹ See, for instance, Myron J. Smith, Jr. and Robert C. Weller, *Sea Fiction Guide* (Metuchen, N.J.: Scarecrow Press, 1976).

Verne circulated another prototype of the ship around the globe in *Twenty Thousand Leagues Under the Sea* (1870, published in English in 1872). Captain Nemo of the submarine Nautilus worries about the skirmishes that occur between powers from the perspective of a “global marine road,” which in turn can be said to be one of the pioneers of “the spaceship earth” that was coined by American architect Buckminster Fuller in the 1960s. Since the advent of Stevenson’s *Treasure Island*, the pirate ship has come to be associated with an open community, accepting even crude men and underprivileged boys. The distant echo of this idea can still be found in today’s global popular culture. One such example can be found in Han Solo’s spaceship, which welcomes Luke Skywalker in the *Star Wars* series (1977-). *The Pirates of the Caribbean* series (2003-2017) offers another perspective on British maritime culture in terms of the shipmates representing a multicultural group, even though the Royal Navy is frequently represented as a class-dominated, authoritarian, and homosocial organization.

Despite Japan being a separate island nation, her maritime culture actually owes much to Britain and British influence. Oda Eiichiro’s manga, *One Piece* (1997-), is the most successful pirate story in and beyond Japan in this medium. It was also the first internationally popular instance in history of the Japanese appropriation of British maritime literature. The shipmate of the boy named Luffy and the pirate king together represent a community that is open and diverse in terms of gender and culture and is not restricted to human species. As the late pirate king Gol D. Roger apparently alludes to gold under the Jolly Roger, the chief mate of the Roger Pirates, dandy Silvers Rayleigh, appears to be a combination of Long John Silver from *Treasure Island* and the notable Elizabethan Privateer Sir Walter Raleigh. *One Piece* thus inherits many different elements from British maritime culture. Although this culture, class, and gender have been exchanged and reorganized in maritime literature created in Britain, as on the marine road, their importance has so far been left unexplored.² In this article, I would like to provide an overview of how the maritime culture and literature from Britain were transplanted to Japan, in terms of both its successes and failures.

² Daniel Finamore and Ghislaine Wood (eds.), *Ocean Liners: Glamour, Speed and Style* (London: V&A Publishing, 2017) is an exceptional study, although the transnational exchanges have been nearly ignored.

1. The Smuggling and Transplanting of British Maritime Literature

From *Beowulf* to Virginia Woolf, English literature has been intimately connected with the sea. The oldest hero in English literature defeats a monster while going across the sea, whereas Woolf's first novel *Voyage Out* (1915) is all about a trip to South America aboard an ocean liner. Richard Hakluyt's *The Principal Navigations, Voyages, and Discoveries of the English Nation* (1589) provide the ultimate milestone in English marine literature, locating, emphasizing, and propagating the role of Britain as a seafaring nation. Hakluyt archived and published the records of many voyages, especially in the form of manuscripts, which became the main source of inspiration for much of the maritime literature that followed, from *Gulliver's Travels* (1723) to *Treasure Island*. The Hakluyt Society, founded in 1846 to honor and promote his mission, continues to compile and publish explorers' records with the intent of exploring the historical relationship between the British people and the sea. As both Hakluyt himself and the eponymous society that takes his name envisioned, the River Thames has been widely considered as a waterway capable of connecting London to all five continents. The British people have commonly estimated that the sea was not the moat around the island and provided the main stage for the history and literature of the British Isles. The patriotic lyrics of "Rule, Britannia!" (1740), which have been sung independently from the masque pageant *Alfred*, almost became a reality in the 19th century. Britain literally "rule[d] waves" with its military control of the seven seas and its worldwide network of routes for British merchant ships. It is therefore unsurprising that, alongside the Navy, the P&O merchant ship has been considered as one of the two wheels of the British Empire, expanding the fortunes of the British in both the economic and political spheres. As mentioned at the beginning of Joseph Conrad's short story "Youth" (1898), "England, where men and sea interpenetrate," became self-evident at the end of the 19th century.³

Japan's treaty ports were forcibly opened in the 1850s and became incorporated into the maritime roads and logistics of Britain and other powers. As the narrator of

³ Joseph Conrad, *Youth* (London: Dent, 1967), p. 3.

Conrad's "Youth" recounts: "I had faced the silence of the East." The arrival of both steamboats and gunboats overwhelmed the feudal Japanese and left them speechless. Meanwhile, "they were looking at me."⁴ In the midst of severe economic disparity and following the example of the British Royal Navy, the Japanese modern government established their own Navy in 1872 and, although most of the battleships and merchant ships were made in Britain, founded Osaka Shosen Kaisha (1884-) and Nippon Yusen Kaisha (1885-) as Japanese P&Os. By the 1890s, merchant shipping and government colonization, not as migrant workers but as settlers, flourished. In 1893, the Shokumin Kyokai [Society for Promoting Colonizing Immigration] was founded, considering Latin America as one of the main candidates for colonization due to the fact that it was relatively free of conflict with European settlers or inhabitants. Tsuneya Seihuku, who worked at the core of the colonizing business on research and public relations, published *Kaigai Shokumin ron* [*Overseas Colonization*] in 1891, highlighting on an upside down map that Japan was to be the gateway to Asia and the Americas beyond the Pacific Ocean (Fig. 1). At the

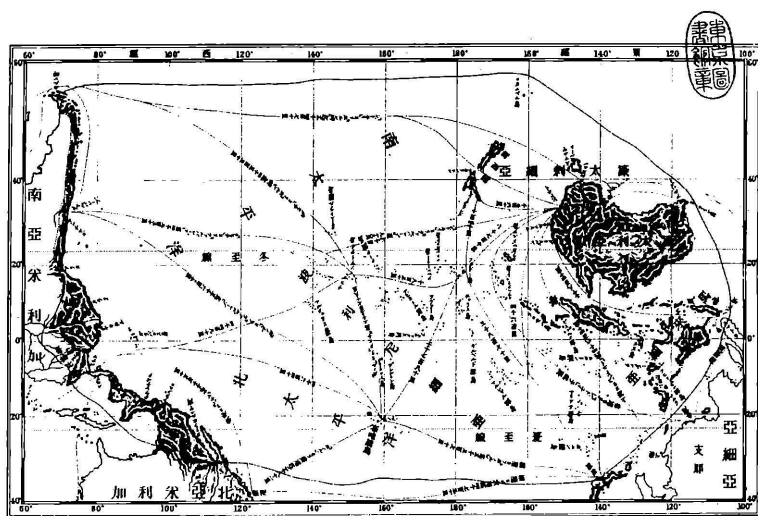


Fig.1 Upside Down Map of Japan and the Pacific from Tsuneya Seihuku, *Kaigai Shokumin Ron* [*Overseas Colonization*], 1891.

⁴ Conrad, *Youth*, p.40.

same time, naval augmentation and merchant logistics promoted and reinforced Japanese imperialism in the Sino-Japanese War (1894-1895) and the Russo-Japanese War (1904-1905). In 1896, Nippon Yusen Kaisha was permitted to open a shipping route to Europe, essentially reversing the British Eastern route, while Osaka Shosen Kaisha opened a maritime route to the newly colonized Taiwan, mainland China, and the Korean peninsula. In the 1910s, the company extended to the subcontinent of India, then to Africa in the 1920s.

With the development of its maritime routes, Japan, like Britannia, had tried to cultivate its own self-image as a country that dominated the sea. Maritime routes and the shipping business were promoted as imperial causes, while the national maritime culture was essentially invented and reorganized with the intent of making it worthy of the name of Britain in the East. For example, when a maritime magazine called *Umi* (which means Sea) was launched with the backing of the Japanese Navy, author Koda Rohan contributed an essay entitled "The Sea and Japanese Literature" (1900) that lamented the lack of maritime literature in Japan. According to Rohan, the underlying reason for this is not in the temperament of the society but its social structure. In Medieval times, writers and readers were mostly courtly aristocrats who lived in the inland capital, thus secluding themselves from the sea. In the early modern period, the *Edo Shogunate* placed a ban on the seas. The sea was therefore depicted in Japan as an outrageous sphere that was plagued by monsters and ghosts swallowing ships.⁵ Emphasizing that the sea had often appeared in ancient poetry when maritime exchanges were common and indispensable, however, Rohan argued that maritime literature was possible and would be necessary to the future development and defense of the islands of Japan. Rohan's assertion was exactly what the Japanese government needed in the age of imperialism, and the article was included in a Japanese government-authorized textbook

⁵ Kraken-like octopus is one of the monsters. Ironically its stories and images inspired by Hokusai were circulated in the English speaking world. See Yorimistu Hashimoto, "Pirates, Piracy and Octopus: From Multi-Armed Monster to Model Minority?" in Inaga Shigemi (ed.), *A Pirate's View of World History: A Reversed Perception of the Order of Things From a Global Perspective* (Kyoto: International Research Center for Japanese Studies, 2017) and introduction to Yorimitsu Hashimoto (ed.), *Caricatures and Cartoons 1890-1905* (Tokyo: Edition Synapse, 2015).

from 1904 to 1940.

This inclusion indicated that any masterpieces of Japanese maritime literature for the textbook were not available, and Rohan's claims had to be repeated often until the outbreak of World War II. Rohan himself had already completed *Isanatori* [*A Story of a Whaler*] (1892), a retrospective story of a former sailor that finds parallels with *Treasure Island*. With an enthusiasm for writing or reviving Japan's authentic maritime literature, Rohan began serializing a novel, *Sora Utsu Nami* [*Waves Striking the Sky*] in 1903. It is obvious that Rohan had set out to emulate with British maritime literature, because just after he began to write the novel, he sent a friend who was familiar with English literature a letter asking him to recommend several works by Clark Russell, a popular British author of maritime literature in the 19th century.⁶ *Sora Utsu Nami*, however, was stranded, and Rohan found it difficult to write. Possibly to encourage and inspire his fishing companion's ambition, Ishii Kendo, a learned author, compiled unpublished records of drifting Japanese sailors in early modern times as *Hyoryu Kidan Zenshu* [*Strange Stories of the Shipwrecked*] (1908). Although he enjoyed reading and reviewing this Japanese counterpart to Hakluyt's library books of the marooned, Rohan was unable to complete the novel after the publication of the third volume in 1907.

Ambitious and nationalistic writers had also embarked on attempts to naturalize maritime literature, especially after science fiction writer Oshikawa Shunro appropriated Verne's Nautilus in the *Kaitei Gunkan* [*Undersea Warships*] of 1900. Among writers of children's literature, there were several attempts to circulate pirate novels based on or inspired by *Treasure Island*. They referred to *Wako* [Japanese pirates] who allegedly sailed across the Eastern China Sea, sometimes attacking the coasts of the continents and islands, but none of these novels were successful. The same applies to paintings of beaches and the sea, inspired by Gustave Courbet, Eugène Boudin, and the Impressionists. Based on the seascape paintings from J. M. W. Turner, paintings of fishing boats and ferryboats had been created by Antonio Fontanesi, the artist responsible for introducing European oil

⁶ Hahsimoto Yorimitsu, "Oani Matagaru Rohan" [Appropriation or Emulation? Koda Rohna's Essays and Their English Originals], *Osaka Daigaku Daigakuin Bungaku Kenkyu Ka Kiyo* [*Memoirs of the Graduate School of Letter, Osaka University*], 59 (2019), p.72.

paintings to Japan.⁷ No masterpiece, however, could compare to Hokusai's *Big Wave*, and very few paintings of life onboard ship were drawn. The necessity of and for maritime literature for the Japanese seafaring Empire was a point regularly made until the 1940s. For example, the writer Yoshie Takamatsu said in 1940 that maritime literature is "a literature that should naturally grow with the development of the nation and national power, and that we must grow at all costs."⁸

The most prevalent example of maritime literature in Japan may have been a travelogue in the form of a report on studying or working abroad in the West.⁹ Wasuji Tetsuro, one of Japan's representative philosophers, published a bestselling book entitled *Fudo [Climate and Culture]* (1935) that classified the world's civilizations by climate based on his own observations at and around British ports such as Hong Kong, Singapore, Colombo and Port Said when he was traveling on Nippon Yusen's ocean liner in the 1920s. Watsuji, who laid the foundation for modern Japanese ethics, was asked by the Navy to give a lecture at the Naval War College in 1943. In the lecture entitled "Nippon no Shindo" [Code of Japanese Emperor's Subjects], Watsuji emphasized the ways that the ordinary Japanese were brave and desperate by referring to the death of the British explorer John Davis in the 17th century. The explorer, whose name was used for the Davis Strait in Greenland, left for Patani off the coast of Sumatra and captured a Japanese pirate ship. While inspecting a load of rice, he was attacked by prisoners of war and fell by "sixe [sic] or seven mortall [sic] wounds." Regarding the pirates, the recorder states that: "in all this conflict they never would desire their lives, though they were hopeless to escape: such was the desperateness of these Japonians [sic]"¹⁰. Considering the pirates to be Samurai warriors, Watsuji quotes this passage and presents the whole

⁷ See the exhibition catalogue of *Tasogare no Kaigatachi [Twilight Paintings]* (Shimane Art Museum, 2019).

⁸ Yoshie Takamatsu, "Maritime Literature" in Tokyo Nichi-Nichi Shimbun, Osaka Mainichi Shimbun (eds.), *Kaiyogaku Tokuhon [Introduction to the Ocean Studies]* (Tokyo Nichi-Nichi Shimbun, 1940), p.195.

⁹ For details, see Hashimoto Yorimitsu and Suzuki Sadahiro (eds.), *Oshu Koro no Bunkashi [A Cultural History of Japanese Ocean Liners]* (Tokyo: Seikyusha, 2017).

¹⁰ Albert Hastings Markham (ed.), *The Voyages and Works of John Davis, the Navigator* (London: Printed for the Hakluyt Society, 1880), p.181.

episode as a kind of code for naval officers, who would have launched the infamous suicidal Kamikaze Squadron a year later, to follow. Though it might have been expected that Watsuji would use this opportunity to emphasize the historical continuity of the naval spirit, he primarily discussed the ways that European powers colonized the continents when crossing the ocean and made it clear that Japan lacked a maritime culture of its own.

Interestingly, his main source of reference for the lecture seems to have been the Hakluyt library, which formed a part of the 70,000 books donated by Britain after the fire at the Tokyo Imperial University during the Great Kanto Earthquake of 1923. After the war, possibly using the same materials, Watsuji expounded a different criticism against Japanese insularity in his next bestselling book, *Sakoku: Nihon no Higeiki* [*Chained Country: Japan's Tragedy*] (1950). In the introduction, Watsuji mentions the Hakluyt series in his contrast of the way that Europe was continuing to expand its colonies with the help of technology, while Japan lacked their spirit of science. Keeping the seclusion order that forbade the Japanese from traveling outside of their country had, according to him, led to the ferment of chauvinism and ultimately the defeat of Japan. Watsuji's 1950 work can therefore be read as a declaration of defeat; unlike in Britain, in Japan, insularism was just too strong to foster a maritime culture, literature, and empire.

2. Romance or Reality: Modernizing a Melodrama of Tristan and Isolde

It is similarly natural that Japanese literature also lacked the category of the romance aboard ship. Its origins may be traced back to the story of Tristan and Isolde in English-speaking countries. Although shipboard romance became common in the 19th century, the recurring theme of a woman falling in love with a man on a boat as she goes to meet her fiancé was almost inherited as the archetype. The popularity of this kind of romance in the English-speaking world was largely due to the fact that safe and inexpensive travel across the Atlantic was so abundantly available that unescorted women were permitted on ocean liners. As is often seen in the "international novels" of Henry James and W. D. Howells, this kind of romance became popular because it explored the amusing contrast between the naïve open-minded American society (female) and the conservative European or Bosto-

nian society (male). One classic example is Howells' *The Lady of the Aroostook* (1879), wherein a Massachusetts-grown daughter, after losing her parents, embarks on a voyage to visit her family in Italy. During the journey, she falls in love with a brilliant and sophisticated young man from Boston. After overcoming certain barriers and misunderstandings, the couple gets married and departs for California, a new world for both of them. The new setting of the Ocean liner proved to be very convenient for romance. In the few weeks it took to cross the Atlantic, the huge enclosed space of the ship enabled bourgeois men and women, who might have never normally met or interacted with each other, to get to know one another and work past their first impressions and misunderstandings.

Painters also seized upon the chance to portray romance and exploit the curious gaze of contemporaries on American women who were traveling alone. Howells' *The Lady of The Aroostook* (1879) was published at the same time as a series of transatlantic paintings by the popular American painter Henry Bacon.¹¹ Bacon repeatedly portrayed the female solo traveler on board ship in "Flirtation on Ship-board" (1880) and "Romantic Observations" (1880). It should be noted from his paintings, however, that it is mainly the male crew, not other passengers, who court these women traveling from America. These less desirable rendezvous between the customers and staff aboard ship were noticed and drawn by the artists on the other side of the Atlantic, for instance, the French painter James Tissot, who was active and very popular in England. Following the Victorian tradition of narrative painting, "The Last Evening" (1873) can thus be read as a sentimental short story. A woman sitting in a deck chair with blank eyes is in the process of being passionately persuaded by a sailor into accepting his courtship. Meanwhile, two men who probably represent her father and the sailor's boss are glaring at the potential couple as they listen to another passenger's complaint. This morganatic love story inevitably ends in tragedy before the end of the voyage, although her expressionless face makes it impossible to know if a romance actually existed between them. In this case, the personal history of Kathleen Newton, Tissot's muse, model, and mistress, would provide a useful footnote. Newton fell in love with a captain on her voyage to meet her unseen fiancé, a civil servant in India, and was sentenced to di-

¹¹ Judy Bullington, "Henry Bacon's Imaging of Transatlantic Travel in the Gilded Age," *Nineteenth Century Studies*, vol.14 (2000), pp.75-79.

voice before she met Tissot.¹²

A similar incident happened in Japan in 1887 when Kuki Ryuichi, who was at the center of Japanese art administration, asked art historian Okakura Kakuzo, well known as author of *the Ideals of the East* (1903) and *the Book of Teas* (1906), to take care of his sick wife from the United States. The two of them, like Tristan and Isolde, fell in love while on board, and their relationship, after landing in Japan, became a scandal. Another case is still more famous. In 1901, a woman named Sasaki Nobuko was on a Nippon Yusen ocean liner bound for America to marry her unseen fiancé, similar to Newton. However, she became attracted to another pursuer on board ship, though he was married. She finally decided to return to Japan without setting foot in the United States, though she was ostracized, and her marriage was seen as a disgrace. Sasaki's story inspired the novelist Arishima Takeo, who had crossed the Pacific *via* ocean liner to study in America, to write a novel modeled on her entitled *Aru Onna* [*A Certain Woman*] (1911). Arishima depicts the heroine as a queen in a male-dominated salon on the ship's deck, swaying weakly with both seasickness and passion. Like Henry James's *Daisy Miller* (1879), "a certain woman" is shunned from the Victorian-dominated high society and eventually dies of uterine disease. As the novel suggests, female travelers from Japan were very few and far between on the first- or second-class passengers' deck before the war. The majority of travelers were male, students, office workers, and bureaucrats like Arishima, and few could afford to travel with their families. The female passengers from Japan, therefore, were exposed to the curiosity and imagination of the male tourists they met on board ship. Tanizaki Junichiro's short story "Secret" (1911) would provide a typical example. The narrator happens to see a fellow female passenger again on the street and repeats secret meetings with her, years after they had met on a boat bound for Shanghai. It becomes clear that he had a relationship with the woman on the ship because he ponders whether she was a "professional" or ordinary woman.

The frustrated or phantasm-like imagination of the male traveler toward his female counterparts seems to have made the boundaries between cash nexus and romantic relationships less visible since the 1920s, when Victorian ideals fell out of favor. Suspicious gazes like those of the narrator of "Secret" seem to have circulat-

¹² Bullington, p.89, n. 14.

ed a rumor of the existence of a “poisonous bird,” a semi-professional “woman who sails from steamer to steamer and preys on men”.¹³ According to her memoir-like essay “Smuggler and Poisonous Bird” (1929), Matsumoto recalls that Japanese male passengers would gossip and were highly suspect of a Caucasian couple made up of a young sophisticated woman and an elderly new rich man aboard a boat to England. Meanwhile, Takizawa Keiichi offers an account of this urban legend-like woman from a French perspective. Takizawa married a French woman and compared Nippon Yusen Kaisha with French Mail. One of the main differences, he said, was the existence of romance or love among the passengers. Takizawa had become aware of a couple’s whispering voices on deck when they had seen a certain kind of woman who intended to comfort French passengers and officers.¹⁴ It should be taken into account that women, especially those from America, may have felt liberated but were often criticized at this time. These stories were often exaggerated in fiction, such as the flappers who openly hunt for the millionaire on board in Anita Loos’ *Gentlemen Prefer Blondes: The Intimate Diary of a Professional Lady* (1925) and a lady thief who searches for her prey while cruising the deck in Laurel and Hardy’s short film, *Sailors, Beware!* (1927). *Love Affair* (1939) is yet another noteworthy film that indicates the changing theme of the shipboard romance and its consumers since the days of Howells and Tissot. As in the previous cases, what they are experiencing is forbidden love on the Transatlantic Ocean Liners. The difference is that both the man and the woman are going to see their respective fiancés in America and that their love actually achieved great popularity as a romantic film.

By contrast, influenced by the economic gap and stagnation of the 1920s, the main focus of Japanese writers moved on to life below deck. Except for Shimazaki Toson’s *Umi He [To the Sea]* (1918) or Yokomitsu Riichi’s *Ryosyu [Ennui on a Journey]* (1937), few novelists deal with the kind of talk that goes on in the first-class passenger’s smoking room. Proletarian literature, such as Hayama Yoshiki’s *Umi ni Ikuru Hitobito [Those Who Live on the Sea]* (1926) and Kobayashi Takiji’s

¹³ Matsumoto Keiko, *Matsumoto Keiko Tantei Shosetsu Sen [Selected Detective Prose of Matsumoto Keiko]* (Tokyo: Ronsosha, 2004), p.301

¹⁴ Takizawa Keiichi, *Furansu Tsushin[News from France]* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1937), p.56.

Kanikosen [The Crab Cannery Ship] (1929), vividly and seriously described the lives and adventures of junior seafarers who worked at the bottom of the ship and the harsh laborers of the Cargo Ship. Another variation, the immigrants of the steerage deck, also attracted attention. Based on his own experience, Maedako Hiroichiro writes about his voyage to America in *Santo Senkyaku [Third Class Passengers]* (1922), whereas Ishikawa Tatsuzo, reflecting his own observations, records the realistic intentions and reasons of the immigration to Brazil in *Sobo [the Common People]* (1935). At the time Tsuneya promoted migration to Latin America in *Kaigai Shokumin Ron* (1891), a majority of the voyage routes were managed by foreign steamships. By the 1930s, Osaka Shosen opened its own maritime route and promoted immigration to Brazil. In 1938, Osaka Shosen euphemistically called its own worldwide route "A Unique Round-the-World Service" (Fig. 2) that was not dependent on British passages except in Singapore (Kobe-Singapore-Durban-Santos-Buenos Aires-Panama-Yokohama). Despite its charming publicity, it is unsurprising that the narratives surrounding these immigration ships had

none of the elements of a shipboard romance. For example, in *Sobo*, a woman is raped by an immigration supervisor during her stay in a quarantine camp in Kobe. This part was removed at the time due to censorship, but it became clear that romance was impossible in the harsh reality of life aboard ship.

Giant ships may have been considered in Japan as a symbol of oppressive militaristic social institutions responsible for bringing the miserable to a new outlet across the sea. The negative image of the ocean liner still remained in the post-war era, for instance, in Fusen Tetsu's oil painting "Haisen" [An Abandoned Ship] (c1969) (Fig. 3). Fusen, a fisherman in his youth, had painted the seas and beach scenes since the 1920s. His work was re-



Fig.2 Osaka Shosen Kaisha's advertisement of 'A Unique Round-the-World Service', *Umi [Sea]*, vol.8 (1938 May),



Fig.3 Fusen Tetsu, Haisen [an Abandoned Ship], c1969

cently reevaluated. With the uncommon word “Haisen,” associated with “defeat in war,” replacing the more usual word with the same pronunciation, this huge abandoned ship might be read as merchant ship that could be converted into a battleship, both of which had been built and botched in the naval arms race at the expense of the common people. Interestingly, the contrast between the huge modern building and the humble houses of the oppressed people can be traced back to Tsuda Seifu’s “Burujiyowa Gikai to Minsyu no Seikatsu” [Bourgeois Parliament and the Life of the People] (1931), the title of which was changed to the “new parliament” under duress from the authorities. Tsuda, however, privately and more harshly repeated the same criticism in the famous “Giseisha” [Victim] (1933), contrasting the tortured and hanged dead body of Kobayashi Takiji (the author of *Kanikosen*) with the parliament as seen through a prison window. This kind of nightmarish memory could, perhaps, be another reason why maritime literature did not flourish in Japan, even after the war had ended.

Conclusion: Diffusion or Dilution of British Maritime Culture?

After World War II, the system of ocean liners restarted across the world, fueled by nostalgia for the Jazz Age. American movies drove the re-creation of the good old days on board ship. In 1953, *Gentlemen Prefer Blondes* (1953) became very popular, and *Love Affair* (1957), a remake of *An Affair to Remember*, gained classi-

cal status. The glory of Britannia, who once ruled the sea, became a thing of the past. In its place, a twisted and somewhat bitter nostalgia was found, for instance, in Richard Gordon's popular novel *Doctor At Sea* (1953). Embarking on a British cargo ship for South America, a doctor finds several crewmembers that once worked on ocean liners like P&O and sadly realizes that such elegant days will never return. A dance on the cargo ship "tied up by a meat works", for instance, reminds him of "Tissot's painting" and "the majestic ensigns of half a dozen now forgotten empires."¹⁵ In an eponymous movie made in Britain in 1955, the doctor falls in love with a French Singer played by Brigitte Bardot at a port in South America, but the scene is filmed as a parody of a shipboard romance. Filled with clichés, "a ship's rail, calm sea, moonlight, you, me, the end of the voyage," the doctor tells her, "we're playing a very traditional scene."

For the defeated nation, such tired romances were still a long way off. From 1950, a few students began to leave for Europe or America to study. One of them, Endo Shusaku, began his career with "Aden Made" [Up to Aden] (1954), a retrospective view of a fourth-class passenger room that was inspired by his dark days of alienation in France. Following Osaka Shosen's reopening of Brazilian migration routes, Ito Einosuke published a novel entitled *Nanbei Koro [En Route to South America]* (1957) to emphasize its existence as a hopeful gateway for the new generation to a new era, unlike that which was abandoned in *Sobo*. The story is an update of *Aru Onna*, wherein a young female passenger is flirted with by a crewmember but rejects him before embarking on a new life in Brazil with a young immigrant man. Though a story similar to Howells' *The Lady of the Aroostook* (1879) might finally have been possible in Japan, the framework was long out of date.

The 1950s were to be the last glory days of the ocean liner, a development that was foreshadowed by the arrival of the airplane. It is unfortunate for Japan's maritime culture that the ocean liner had become a thing of the past by 1964, when overseas travel was finally liberalized. The heyday of the ships had ended before maritime culture could be fully opened up and enjoyed by the common people in Japan. Maritime culture might therefore have been absorbed into one of the nostalgic historical or scientific romances, whereas cruise ship culture today has become more or less a relic of the nostalgic past for the rich and leisured classes. In Japan's

¹⁵ Richard Gordon, *Doctor At Sea* (Cornwall: House of Stratus, 2001), p.119

popular culture, the ocean liner continues to be chosen as a giant enclosed space that is convenient for romance and mystery novels. This kind of dilution of British maritime culture, however, may be shared by the English-speaking world and even by Britain herself if they chose to act as an island fortress protected and cloistered by the silver sea. In these circumstances, In these circumstances, relatively similar distant memories of the glory days of pirates and passenger ships are felt in Britain and Japan, *One Piece* was born into a Japan that had imported British maritime culture for over 100 years.